

Swatantra! ⁽⁵⁾
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Swatantra!!!



*Veri first
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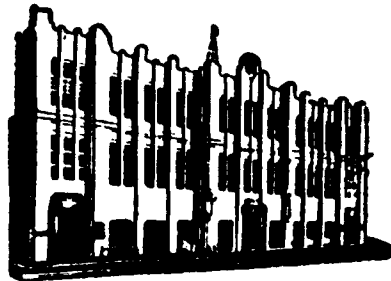
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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 4.

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1947.

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SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 4

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

TREASON ALL ROUND

OBJECTION has been taken to Sri Prakasam having gone on a tour of the Andhra districts, with a no-confidence motion against him pending consideration by the Congress Legislature Party. Sri Shanker Rao Deo who was deputed to watch and report to the High Command the proceedings of the meeting of the Party convened to consider the no-confidence motion, is among those that uphold this objection. He is of the view that conflict between the People and the Party is inherent in any move involving a direct approach to the people as against legislators by a leader of such established popularity as Prakasam, and out of consideration for the prestige of the Congress and the strength of the Congress organisation, a veteran of his standing should have taken his troubles to the High Command direct. In a normal situation the suggestion of Sri Shanker Rao Deo is certainly worthy of respect. But the present ministerial crisis is itself the product of a series of abnormalities which should never have been permitted to take place, and for some of which at least the responsibility of a powerful section in the High Command running the Central Government is indisputable. This section has not acted towards Sri Prakasam in a manner befitting the responsible heads of the Central administration in their treatment of the Premier of a compo-

nent Provincial Government. At the time of the formation of the Congress Ministry under Sri C. Rajagopalachari in Madras, Mr. Faziul Huq happened to be Chief Minister in Bengal and he indulged in some strong strictures against the Madras Government. Mr. Huq was not a member of the Congress organisation, but C. R. felt that as head of a sister provincial administration he was under a duty of comporting himself towards the Governments of other provinces with restraint and it was constitutionally improper for him to have arraigned any of them publicly. The Congress High Command cannot claim for itself the state of happy irresponsibility for which Mr. Huq is notorious. They now run the Government at the Centre. They are under a definite obligation not to create difficulties in or for Provincial Cabinets, especially in provinces where Congress Governments are functioning. Such being the case, it is unfortunate that some of the members of the Congress High Command holding the position of members of the Interim Government should have definitely permitted, if they did not deliberately promote, a campaign in the Congress Legislature Party for the collection of signatures avowing no-confidence in the Madras Premier in order to bring about his political downfall. They seem to have encouraged a movement in the Legislature Party

for attack on the Premier. By doing so they have failed to act up to the degree of responsibility, of restraint, of discipline and of duty to a fellow Congressman carrying on the administration of a major Congress Province as its Premier, expected of them as members of the Central Government. In a political party there are always more aspirants for ministerial positions than the actual number of such positions available for distribution. What reconciles the excluded to their exclusion and prevents them from attacking the favoured is the realisation by the former of the inevitability and finality of arrangements decided on by the leader as the main contributory factor to the maintenance of discipline. But when top leaders of the Congress organisation go about encouraging moves for displacement of a working Ministry, that itself serves as a stimulus for disappointed ambitious Party men to rally forces to try their luck to secure for themselves the coveted posts held by others of their Party. The remarkable phenomenon that the no-confidence motion against the Premier does not contain any the least disapproval of his policies, is partly due to the fact that such policies have been built on absolute loyalty to Congress election pledges and his challengers dare not openly find fault with him for his superior loyalty; but to a considerable degree the no-confidence effort is the result of High-Command-encouragement accorded to the greed and self-interest of disgruntled Party members eager for the power and position from which they found themselves excluded under Prakasam's Premiership. Given this sort of filip from above for disruption in Party ranks, no Premier can ever hope to retain his influence with the Party, and any ordinary leader would have collapsed under its deadly effects within less than a week. Prakasam's survival for so long is an indication of his gigantic poli-

tical stature. Those that find fault with him for not seeking succour from the High Command should remember that to him the settlement of provincial leadership is a provincial matter entitled to provincial decision, and the gallant way in which within this perfectly legitimate sphere he has been upholding the cherished principle of provincial autonomy against heavy odds that would have broken the spirit of any less brave soul, (unlike so many of the no-confidence faction who swore by it when it suited them and forswore it at other times) must command the respect of all. What chance of fairplay, moreover, can be expected from the High Command in view of the fact that some of its very important members gave their blessings to the no-confidence move long before it mustered a majority in the Party in its favour, and in fact the majority against Prakasam that is made so much of is itself a result of encouragement given to careerist elements with every incitement conducive to indiscipline and greed. If the High Command is to establish its capacity for fairplay in the judgment of intelligent minds, it must start with unequivocal condemnation of the attempts that have already emanated from its own ranks to sabotage Prakasam's leadership, disorganise the Congress Legislature Party and place a premium on disturbance and rebellion. It must withdraw the support in advance that some of its members have already promised to aspiring post-hunters on the condition of their proving themselves capable of gathering a majority of Party-men against the Premier. It must abstain from taking sides and leave the leader completely free to take such action as he deems necessary against recalcitrants seeking to abuse their status as legislators to further their own personal ends in disregard of loyalty to the Congress election pledges and in defiance of patently demonstrated

public opinion in the constituencies that elected them.

Thus in the present situation, Abnormality Number One is the blessing given by an anti-Prakasam element in the High Command, forgetful of their responsibility as administrators at the Centre, to rebels in the Party ranks to canvass a majority to unseat the head of a provincial administration. Abnormality Number Two is embodied in the patent violation of the plain obligations of Party discipline on the part of the generality of the participants in the no-confidence move. There is no meaning in a party if membership is not to serve as a bond of fraternity. Party affairs should be determined in the Party only or through discussion among members of the Party only. But in the case of the no-confidence campaign, it is an open secret that while Sri Kamaraj Nadar supplied the limbs and the votes and the organisational resources, all the planning and the brains behind the planning came from outsiders who were not members of the Congress Legislature Party and the Nadarites only served as tools for the furtherance of their political ambitions. To enable outside leadership to invade in this manner the settlement of Party questions pledged to Party consideration and Party discussion, is not the mark of faithfulness to party or leader. It involves a clear breach of the obligations of Party discipline, and those responsible for it have proved themselves bad Partymen scarcely mindful of the duties and responsibilities associated with membership of political parties all over the world. It is relevant to state also in this connection that there have not been wanting Partymen who openly resorted to vilifying speeches in public defaming the credit of the Government in a highly irresponsible way. While continuing as members of the ruling party they conducted themselves in public as if they were bound by no rules of restraint or discipline and as though

indeed they belonged to the Opposition. This double-facedness is yet to elicit even a feeble remonstrance from the disciplinarians in the High Command.

Abnormality Number Three has to be characterised as the worst and most disgraceful of all, and the scene of its perpetration has been the Cabinet itself. If Cabinet Ministers find themselves unable to render loyalty to the Premier, the honourable course is open to them of leaving it and confronting the leader with their criticisms in Party meetings. But some of the Ministers, while enjoying the privileges of Ministers, owning on the surface loyalty to the Premier, have in secret been organising trouble for him, treacherously supporting the no-confidence move behind his back. They planned to confound him with their resignations a few hours in advance of the time fixed for the no-confidence motion, so as to leave him no scope or opportunity for repairing the mischief of their eleventh-hour desertions. Apparently they expected to see themselves reinstated before nightfall on the ashes of the ruin of the leader who had trusted them with high responsibilities of State and whom they had betrayed. Actually they attract public attention today as cheap, pitiable, unfaithful men incapable of integrity and not to be trusted with any serious public work, whoever may win or lose. Their tactic of pretending to be moved by high motives for covering the real character of their planned desertion, has turned to dust. For they stated that it was as custodians of the dignity of the Tamil Nadu P.C.C., alleged to have been outraged by a supposed invitation of the Premier to Mr. Davis of Parry and Company to tender evidence against the authorities of the P.C.C., that they felt themselves impelled to protest and resign. With the announcement by Mr. Davis that he has received no such invitation, the desperate attempt of the deserters to fit

their treason with a reason stands defeated, and they are now exposed before the public in their true guise—that of enemies pretending to be friends, pledged to the politics of treachery, and given to varnishing of long-planned designs of desertion with absurd reasons that can deceive nobody.

It will be seen that Sri Prakasam has been a victim of unfair dealing at the hands of his own colleagues in the Cabinet, of recalcitrant groups driven from behind by outside influences within the Congress Legislature Party itself, and of top-ranking leaders of the High Command adorning administrative positions in the Interim Government. The drive against him illustrates deplorable political activity disruptive of Congress prestige and discipline on three different planes of the organisational structure of the Congress, the activity on none of the three planes conforming to the requirements of clean and decent political standards. The disruption of Congress influence is not of his making and would not have been any the less had he not gone on tour in the Andhra districts. The tour is in the nature of an attempt to feel the pulse of the public and ascertain the nature of public sentiment to his leadership, on the part of a tenacious promoter of the Congress programme subjected to harassment from various quarters, some wholly unexpected, in the course of his implementation of the programme. Mahatma Gandhi has made the Congress a mass organisation. It will cease to be a mass organisation and lose the strength pertaining to a mass organisation if in the present crisis in which the people and a vast number of Congress committees throughout the Province back the Premier solidly, the High Command choose to throw the weight of their influence on the side of the anti-Prakasam intriguers, most of whom, especially in Andhra, are pigmies before the Premier in political stature and have reduced

themselves, by the part they have played in the promotion of the no-confidence move, to the pitiable necessity of having to fly from their constituencies in order to protect themselves from popular wrath.

Central Government's Budget

“INDIA is a land of glaring contrasts and disparities; we have here on the one hand a class of multimillionaires rolling in wealth and holding the economy of the country in their grip by exploiting for their own profit the labour of the poorer classes, and on the other hand the vast multitudes who eke out, somehow or other, a miserable existence precariously near the starvation line. The conditions created by the last war served to accentuate these disparities; the rich became richer and the poor poorer.... Although I am not one of those who consider the abolition of private property and the complete equalisation of incomes as the only remedy for these ills, I do believe in the Quranic injunction that wealth should not be allowed to circulate only among the wealthy and the stern warning given against accumulations of wealth in the hands of individuals. It is against this background that my Budget proposals have been formulated.” These words contained in the speech with which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Member of the first National Government of the country introduced his Budget into the Central Assembly mark the opening of a new era in our history. It makes clear that in the free and democratic India of which we are dreaming government will stand for the highest principles of social justice.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's Budget gives practical effect to these principles of social justice partly by directly reducing the burden falling on the poorer and the lower middle classes and partly by increasing the tax burden on the more wealthy

classes. Among the measures falling in the first category the first place has to be given to the abolition of the salt tax. As Mahatma Gandhi has been saying for years it is this measure more than anything else that brings home to the masses of the people in the country that India is on the threshold of freedom. Nothing will strike the imagination of the common man more effectively than this abolition of the salt tax. There is next the proposal to raise the minimum exemption limit for income-tax from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500. This raising of the limit will give some relief to the members of the lower middle classes who have been hit hardest by the war-time rise in prices and the general inflationary conditions prevailing in the country. The tax burden on the more wealthy classes is being increased in a variety of ways — by the levy of a special income-tax of twenty-five per cent on all business profits exceeding one lakh of rupees, by a tax on capital gains that have been made in recent years and that are still being made, by doubling the corporation tax and raising the scale of supertax and by making the dividend tax much stiffer than what it is today. It is no doubt true that all this will be objected to by the industrialists and the capitalists who have been piling up large fortunes by evading the tax laws and they may even argue that all this will hit hard at private enterprise and industry. But that is the usual argument put forward by capitalists and although there may be room for certain modifications in matters of detail no serious objection should be taken to the broad principle that no person is entitled to accumulate more than a certain amount of wealth. More important in a way than these individual measures is the proposal to set up a commission to investigate into the way in which some of the profiteers and dealers in black-market have been able to come into possession

of untold wealth. For there is no denying the fact that as the Finance Member puts it the way in which some of these profiteers have flaunted their newly acquired wealth has been something of a public scandal. It is from this standpoint that we have also to welcome the measures which the Government propose to take for controlling speculation on the stock market and on the commodity and bullion exchanges which has brought serious consequences to the growth of proper investment. No special reference need be made to the doubling of the export duty on tea which has been found necessary to make up partly the Budget deficit.

It is not merely by these taxation proposals that the Budget is entitled to be called a poor man's Budget. The common man also benefits by some of the items of expenditure included in it, items like agricultural development, contributions to Provincial Governments for a number of post-war development schemes and for housing. The provision made for expenditure on training schemes for technical staff and financial assistance to various scientific, medical and technological institutions and the assumption of complete financial responsibility for the construction and maintenance of national highways are other progressive features of the Budget.

Objection has been taken in some quarters that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has laid undue emphasis on regional as distinguished from national planning. But in a country like ours which is so backward in every sphere of life it does not make much difference whether we start with central or regional planning. The latter perhaps is desirable as it will ensure a uniform development of all parts of the country and when regional planning is directed by the Central Government it will be free from all the defects associated usually with such planning.

The Central Government's Budget for 1947-48 is thus the first national budget and also the first people's budget.

The Madras Budget

THERE is one essential point of difference today between the financial position of the Central Government and that of the Provincial Governments in the country. The Central Government is in possession of the more lucrative sources of revenue like the income tax and the customs and these bring large funds to its coffers. In the case of the provinces the revenues are poor but as all nation-building departments are within their jurisdiction, there is unlimited demand on their finances for expenditure on education, sanitation, medical relief, housing, etc. It follows from this that the criterion by which we have to judge about the merits of a provincial budget is slightly different from that by which we have to judge about the merits of the central budget. It may be said that the budget of the Madras Province introduced by Mr. Prakasam the other day is highly commendable.

One of the outstanding features of Mr. Prakasam's administration has been the determination with which he has been devoting himself to carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress as laid down in the election manifesto. He started on this programme last year and in this year's budget it occupies a prominent place. Prohibition is extended to ten more districts. The intensive part of the Khadi development scheme is to be worked in seven compact areas. As a part of the comprehensive plan for the general development of rural economy expenditure is to be incurred on the training of persons to carry on cottage-industries, on the re-organisation of industrial and commercial museums and on the provi-

sion of financial aid to those who run cottage industries. Another item of expenditure is Harijan uplift and the starting of special colonies for this purpose. It is proposed to carry on the "Grow-More-Food" campaign with greater intensity in 1947-48. A scheme for growing an additional quantity of 6.5 million tons of food has been prepared by the Agricultural Department. The subsidy for the sinking of wells has been increased. Compulsory primary education is to be introduced in some more villages in each district and an additional one and half lakhs of children would be brought under instruction. More money is made available for libraries in the firkas selected for intensive rural reconstruction. Provision is made for giving additional grants to local bodies and private managements so as to enable them to pay dearer and cost of living allowances to teachers at Government rates and revise the pay of the teachers in accordance with the scales recently laid down. The expenditure on medical education as well as on medical relief is increased. A comprehensive plan has been prepared covering water-supply and drainage schemes for the whole province and it will be given effect to in certain areas. Drainage improvements are to be introduced in the Kistna and Cauvery deltas. Rs. 150 lakhs will be spent on the post-war development plan for roads. One other important feature of the budget for 1947-48 is the starting of an Industrial Finance Corporation to make medium and long term loans to industries. It is also proposed to nationalise certain basic industries and a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs has been set apart for the capital outlay required under this head.

Some of these schemes are to be financed by grants from the Central Government. But even then there will be a deficit and to meet it, it is proposed to levy a tax on agricultural incomes exceeding Rs. 5,000

a year. It is expected that this will bring a revenue of one crore of rupees. As it will fall in the main on the richer classes of landlords no objection can be taken to it. It is also proposed to increase the rate of tax on petrol and on motor spirit other than petrol and to fix the rates of tax under the Entertainments Tax Act at one-third of the cost of each ticket. From these two sources a revenue of 75 lakhs is expected.

Some may be disposed to criticise the budget on the ground that provision should have been made for a larger amount of expenditure on education, public health, irrigation,

etc. But they forget that unless we are prepared to raise considerably the present levels of taxation it is not possible to increase the expenditure under these heads. We are passing through very difficult times. There are shortages in food, in fuel, in housing, etc., and the time is not opportune for raising the level of provincial taxation as it falls more on the middle and the poorer classes than on the rich. We have to wait for better times before more heroic measures are taken. As things stand, the budget introduced by Mr. Prakasam is the best and it stands for a progressive and comprehensive development in all nation-building activities.

Sotto Voce

A Nine Days' Wonder



IT IS BARELY a week since Britain gave notice to quit. And now the salt tax goes, most hated emblem of British domination. "This is Swaraj in action, the glorious first-fruits of Hindu-Muslim accord." It is a theme that should keep our Beach orators busy for six months. Our poet patriots will no doubt picture the slaying of the Salt Tax as the sacrificial offering on the funeral pyre of effete Imperialism. But the cynic chuckles, "Ah! a nine-days' wonder, following another!"

The poor man's salt is now almost as free as air, but it is somehow difficult to see him walking on air. After all, salt is not sugar: of fewer commodities could it be said more truthfully, "Man wants but little here below." And there is so much

of it, actual and potential, that whichever else of the world's natural resources gives out this will not. In vain does the congenital enthusiast try to recapture the ecstasies of the Dandi march. Salt that is no longer contraband has lost more than half its savour.

And indeed how could you expect the poor man to rejoice over this stunt—unless you take him for a camel, pleased by the knocking off of the proverbial straw—when for the one salt tax he had to pay he now pays a hundred, thanks to the Sales Tax, whose name is legion. On every one of his humble necessities, from matches to kerosine, he is mulcted as many times over as there are middlemen who handle the goods. For his good friends, the

Congress Ministry which thought of the bright idea, were as always more concerned for his soul than for his body. They acted on the principle, "The greater the sacrifice the greater the merit."

Alas for the vanished spirit of the crusader! Think of the reverberations that the great protests of the past have left in the halls and corridors of history. The hated *fizzia* impelled the flower of Rajput chivalry to immolate itself on the altar of national independence. And even Democracy in its first flush made up in volume what was lacking in quality. William Jennings Bryan with his fiery slogan, "Shall humanity be crucified on a cross of gold?", Douglas whose Social Credit lit up Alberta's northern skies for a brief hour like a new Aurora Borealis, the Moderate Congress gnashing its teeth in vain against the Cotton Excise Duty and our own Madras almost losing its temper over the Iniquitous Impost—where, oh, where is gone that power of indignation, that noble wrath? You might as well ask, "Where are the snows of yester-year?"

The titillation of self-esteem can be more powerful, because it is more insidious, than the grosser appeal to self-interest. It undermines the spirit of resistance like the water that dissolves a mud-bank by clinging to it. When you tell people that they have to be bled white in the sacred cause of Prohibition you imprison them in a magic circle as effectively as the snake-charmer does his catch; who that had the chance of figuring as a shining cobra would confess himself a plebeian *sarai*? To reason about

Physiologists have shown that one reason people are touchy, easily insulted or grieved, is that they go through life with jaws set, faces strained and muscles tense. This causes them to jump at the slightest noise, or the slightest insult to their egos. They say their nerves are on edge, but it is mainly their muscles, from eyelids to toes, that are jumping. When all your muscles are relaxed and at ease, your nerves and ego will also be at ease.—ALBERT EDWARD WIGGAM in *Your Life*.

these things seems perilously like blasphemy.

Otherwise why should a man pay 25 per cent extra on his chillies and tamarind for the compulsory reclamation of some unknown drunkard? Could it be more absurd if somebody suggested a tax on the splay-footed and the snub-nosed to finance the fight against what W. T. Stead used to headline as "the White Scourge of modern Babylon"? The use of taxation as an instrument of social policy has come to be accepted as axiomatic. But that does not alter the fact that "social policy" is as often as not a packet of prejudices. Has it not been said that, however reasonable an increase on the tobacco duty may be, no British Government that made the workman's smoke dearer would survive for a day? In Inebria, the capital of Bacchus, there must have been a single tax; and they decreed, I am sure, that the vile water-drinker shall pay it.

"Soaking the rich" is another fiscal doctrine that has recently swum into fashion. You would think that, when they have been rinsed out, the tax-gatherer might find his occupation gone. But all advanced economies have thoughtfully provided that the rich shall give place to the *nouveau riche*. It is hardly an improvement, though. The ocean-going liner may be incrustated with barnacles below the water-line; but you do not on that account prefer to cross the Atlantic in a skiff. Wealth mellowed by age had time to care for the imponderables of civilised life. Your mushroom plutocrat luxuriates in his own vulgarity as in a warm bath.

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS :

Unbounded courage and compassion joined proclaim him good and great.
—ADDISON.

POOR BHAKTAVATSALAM who resigned in the morning expecting to be reinstated in the evening is in a temper because he is revealed before the public as having lost, along with his job, also his character. He might have saved the one even if he had lost the other if he had not given an absurd reason for his resignation. Everyone knew that he and Avanashi, were, while remaining Ministers and pretending to be loyal to the Premier, actually and secretly among the ring-leaders of the signature-collecting plot to oust him. Reports of their having handed over their resignations to Sri Kamaraj Nadar to be used by him as he chose were circulating widely long before Prakasam appointed his anti-group committee. There was wide incredulity therefore when the deserting Ministers attributed their desertion to something connected with the committee, the alleged invitation under its auspices to Mr. Davis of Parry and Company to tender evidence in proof of the strike-promoting activities of the authorities of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee. When Mr. Davis promptly denied having received any such invitation, Bhaktavatsalam and the rest of the ex-Ministers stood discovered before the public in their true colours—as deserters who had deserted according to plan but were put to sore straits

in the attempt to give to their desertion the character of an off-hand reaction to an unpremeditated provocation of an irresistible sort. No wonder, in the circumstances, if Bhaktavatsalam is thrown into an anti-Prakasam frenzy and is betrayed into pronouncing the Premier's ruling on the no-confidence motion as "atrocious."

The actual rule under which the no-confidence motion was declared to be out of order is worth careful study. It runs thus:

No motion expressing want of confidence in the Ministry, Speaker, Deputy Speaker, President or Deputy President or for the adjournment of the business of the Assembly or the Council for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance shall be made by a member, without the approval of the Executive Committee or the Leader.

The Executive Committee and the Leader are by the Rule placed on a par as entities against whom no question of no-confidence can arise, since they are themselves the authorities from whom sanction should emanate for all permissible cases of no-confidence. Under the Rules of the Congress Legislature Party the Leader is an irremovable executive head for the period of his election, whereas no such immunity extends to any of the other members who under Rule 30 are removable on the initiative of the Leader when



Bhaktavatsalam, Avanashi, Daniel Thomas, Kumaraswami Raja, Kurmiah.
(These deserted the Premier in the crisis according to plan.)

they "contravene any of the Rules or act in a manner calculated to bring the Party, its Leader or its Executive into discredit or contempt." Bhaktavatsalam is certainly removable from the Party for his public attack on the Leader in the manner he has levelled it, seeking to throw discredit on the Leader.

Culpability is not condoned by quantity nor does indiscipline become excusable because a multitude indulges in it. Everyone of the members of the Party that has had a hand in the gross exhibition of indiscipline involved in defiance of a ruling of the Leader on a point of order and the holding of a meeting in his presence under another Leader in express contravention of the very clear meaning of Rule 27, is as much liable to expulsion from the Party as Bhaktavatsalam himself. The vantage of being in a majority enjoyed by the defiant rebels cannot save them from the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Party, since from the Party judgment on their behaviour, the Leader is entitled to discount and exclude their own opinions and votes. It would appear that the sponsors of the no-confidence faction, impatient for seizure of ministries, consulted a great constitutional expert over the trunk phone as to the most expeditious manner of driving Prakasam out, and received a stunning boomerang for their pains. The expert is reported to have warned them that they must count themselves lucky if permitted to continue as members of the Party after their betrayal of mass indiscipline legally justifying their expulsion. The plain truth of the matter is that the Premier as Leader of the Party has enough power under the Rules to remove from membership all participants in the unconstitutional procedure of 28th February, and the no-confidence-wallahs have given him the right to exercise it by their unruly disregard of the patent purport of Party Rules. The Congress Working Committee cannot help the anti-Prakasam rebels without placing on indiscipline and defiance of rules a premium that is bound to react most

fatally on their influence with the public and their very power of being able to govern.

An interesting situation would be created if the Premier should choose to exercise his disciplinary powers against members of the Party found guilty of planned and deliberate violation of the Rules. He is not a man to be deterred by fear of the numbers ranged against him or of consequences to himself. In the present conflict between the Premier and his critics, it would be wrong to construe the Premier's moves as springing from any desire to cling tenaciously to office. Only the ignorant unaware of the true character of the Premier, will commit such a blunder. The whole pattern of his life, as lived in the past quarter century, is one of renunciation and of indifference to material rewards. But he has the bull-dog's unyielding perseverance and it is impossible to cow him down by bullying. Attacks which he regards as unfair only drive him to a grand condition of calm imperturbability on which no worldly consideration is ever able to make a breach and he is at his strongest and cheerfulest, with a dignity that is most impressive, when the danger confronting him is most formidable. He has discovered behind the whole facade of the no-confidence move against him, a clear drive on the part of self-seekers for power and pelf. And he has set himself to resist it whatever the cost. His fight now is an expression of his sense of responsibility. We owe to it the saving of the province from a temporary spell of Section 93 rule. In his fight there is a certain equanimity that makes it proof against worry and defeatism. He has reached the stage of taking success or defeat with perfect philosophy. Never have I found him so gay as since these troubles have begun to pour on him. He goes about his tasks in absolute confidence and he sleeps the sleep of the innocent.—**SAKA.**

THE MOTHER OF PARLIAMENTS

by A. ALAGAPPAN



Parliament House, London.

HISTORY grips imagination when a person is confronted with Parliament. Here the free men of Britain defied the might of an autocratic King and sent away Charles frustrated and angry when he came to demand from Speaker Lenthall the disobedient five members who had dared to offend him. Here Burke pleaded gloriously but in vain for independence to the American rebels. Pitt was guiding Parliament unmoved by a tide of mounting disaster and helped Britain to save herself by her exertions and Europe by her example. He lost many a battle but won the war. Wilberforce struggled hard in Parliament to do away with the pernicious system of slavery. Shaftesbury pleaded the cause of the children working naked and harnessed together in horrid conditions in the pits. Keir Hardie, the man with the cloth cap, entered Parliament and introduced a new spirit. In the recent past Lloyd

George and Winston Churchill were at the helm of the nation in her most perilous hours. The names of Chatham, Gladstone and Disraeli rush to our mind when we think of the history of Parliament.

The origin of Parliament goes back to the days of Witenagemot or the group of wise men who formed an advisory body during Saxon times. The Norman Kings, though absolutely powerful, found it helpful to make laws after talking it over with the important men of the realm selected from the church, the landed aristocracy and the knightly order. It was only in the twelfth century that Parliament became organised as an institution. The struggles between the barons and the monarch resulted in the Great Charter which wrung out concessions for the rich men and limited the King's arbitrariness. The Revolution of 1684 decided the depen-

dance of the British monarch on Parliament. Shorn of all absolute power, constitutional monarchy was established and power was taken over by Parliament which was becoming more effective. The ministers were hereafter responsible to Parliament. The Reform Bill of 1832 made Parliament much more democratic by abolishing the rotten boroughs and enlarging the voting list. The franchise was extended to wider areas of people very gradually. At long last adult suffrage has been introduced in this century. The curtailment of the power of the King and the House of Lords made the Lower House the undisputed sovereign body.

The sovereignty of Parliament has been loudly proclaimed. As a legal doctrine it may be sound. In actual practice the limitations are considerable. Legislation that is passed is undertaken after consulting the affected interests. Advisory committees are becoming increasingly powerful. In the sphere of taxation of the import duties the advisory committee influences the tariff rates for general customs duties. The Minister for Transport is required by law to consult a rates advisory committee and must take into consideration the advice of the road transport, tramways and electricity committees. The Home Secretary must consult the Police council before he exercises his power of making regulations as to the government, mutual aid, pay, allowances, pensions, clothing, expenses and conditions of the members of the police forces. Thus power is gravitating to bodies which are not under the effective control of Parliament. Delegated legislation has also diluted its sovereignty. The rapid accumulation of powers in the hands of the Cabinet and its privilege of introducing legislation over-riding the claims of individual members, tend to weaken the Parliament. The Whip-hand of finance in deciding the main principles of the budget is in the hands of the Cabinet. The Cabinet of the day is more responsible to the party leaders than to its supporters in the House. The evolution of the party system has

deflected power to party caucuses outside the precincts of Parliament. One very happy feature to note is that the sovereignty of Parliament to pass legislation affecting millions of people in far off lands is rapidly being liquidated.

It is very interesting to look through the records of Parliament to note the brilliant retorts and high humour that are found in abundance. Books like H. W. Lucy's "Peeps in Parliament" the Rt. Hon. G. W. E. Russell's "Social Silhouettes" and John Ayes' "The Humour of Parliament and Parliamentary Elections" are delightfully interesting.

A very brilliant retort given in recent years was by Mr. Winston Churchill. One of the members of the Opposition spoke in an irresponsible manner without reference to the subject under discussion with the idea of wasting the time of the House. Mr. Churchill, rising to reply, said, "The noble lord who has just spoken is one of those persons who, before rising in his place, has not got the slightest idea of what he is going to say, who while addressing the House has not the slightest idea of what he is saying, and who when he has sat down, has not the slightest idea of what he has said."

When Lieut. Commander Kenworthy introduced a bill for the abolition of capital punishment, in order to rouse the interest of the House, he asked an oratorical question, "Would any of you be prepared to act as hangman?" The effect was ruined when a listener said, very meaningfully, "Depends on who was to be the victim."

Lord Palmerston once destroyed the effect of a brilliant speech delivered in a theatrical vein full of gestures. Rising to reply he said that it was "the best speech he had ever seen."

A member having finished his speech hurriedly resumed his seat and in so doing sat down on his new top-hat. In a moment an Irish member was on his feet. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "Permit me to congratulate

late the honourable member on the happy circumstance that when he sat on his hat his head was not in it."

Exceptional care is attached to Parliamentary language. Every member is expected not to transgress his limits. So a Speaker was asked to change his language when he called his opponent a "liar." However he was allowed to say that "The Right Honourable Gentleman has handled truth rather carelessly." Another member was asked to withdraw his statement that "the remark of the Right Honourable Gentleman was distinguished by his usual disregard for veracity." But he was said to be within bounds when he said that "Nothing could be greater falsity." Mr. Balfour was allowed to say that Mr. Gladstone was not truthful when he said that "Never once during that speech did the Rt. Honourable Gentleman deviate into accuracy."

Remarkable satirical effect was achieved by the Duke of Argyll when he described Mr. Gladstone's Government as "a row of jelly fishes, beautiful creatures, with a very delicate nervous system, but destitute of a skeleton and a backbone, making most beautiful convulsive movements in the water and seeking to move in it, when in reality they are only floating with the current and the tide."

"King George V was noted for his frugality and thrift, qualities he tried to instil in his offspring. The then Prince of Wales, on the other hand, was pretty much of a spendthrift. While at school, he wrote to his father pleading for some additional money. In return he received a stiff note of reproof urging him to mend his ways and learn to be a business. In the next mail, the King found a note from his son which said: "I have taken your advice. Have just sold your letter to a collector for twenty-five pounds."—Louis Sobol in *The Reader's Digest*.

During the Bikini operations, a discussion arose as to what weapons would be used in the next war—atom bombs, germs, rockets.

"I don't know what weapons will be used in the next war," a young Army lieutenant interrupted, "but in the war after the next one, surer than hell they'll be using spears."—JOE LAITIN in *Frontpage*.

In Search of Happiness

by Kumara Guru

A Hindu mother, aged 42, fair and good looking with big vermillion mark (kunkum) on her forehead, a sedate look and calm features, as of one who had borne somewhat of the world's misery, yet with a composure born of wisdom, lying on a cot, and

A son, aged 26 years, a medical man by profession, practising in a mofussil centre, seated on a chair near the bed, in conversation.

Mother: 'You say that I have not many hours to live. I have just to make a request of you, regarding your father, who deserted us about 12 years ago, when you were barely 14 years of age and you had just joined your university classes. I have a vague foreboding that he is yet alive, though he has not apprised us of his whereabouts. My ailments led to your study of medicine; and at the young age of 23, you are famous as an obstetrician. I am glad and proud that your conduct, so far, with women and the young ladies you came into contact with, have been extraordinarily chivalrous and pure. The reasons therefor may be two-fold; firstly, your unbounded affection for me; secondly, your father's desertion of me; a woman, to shift as I could along with you, to live on the *stridhana* property given me by my parents at the time of my betrothal when I was barely 13 and he was 19. You were born three years later; you are my first born; your father and I were then so happy and proud of you, among the people, supervising agricultural labour, amidst whom our lot was cast, that the Gods themselves perhaps became suddenly envious of our happiness. Your father could not pass his Matriculation because of the variety of subjects he could not take an interest in. Yet, as you know, as evidenced from his small library, he was a good student of literature.'

Son: 'You may praise him, but I have now neither respect nor admiration for him. He may have made you happy during the first five or six years of your married life, but he was not faithful to you and deserted you.'

Mother: 'How does that belie his good nature? He was an extremely graceful person and good to the core of his heart. He gave the tenants a fifth share of the produce, while other land-

owners gave only a sixth. Those six years of married life are sufficient recompense for all the suffering I have passed through since.'

Son: 'You could have sued him in a court of law as the guardian of a co-parcener, that is, myself, pleading that he was wasting his ancestral property on a courtesan, the woman Rati, dedicated to the temple and have wrested from him a moiety for our needs.'

Mother: 'Yes I could have done so. Even my relatives urged me to act so, and they would have simply enjoyed the fun of it. I was taught to believe that my husband was God-in-person. Even if your father had asked for my *stridhana* property, I would have willingly parted with it. Yet, he did not touch these assets because of his respect for me and for the law.'

Son: 'Why all this talk of father's past?'

Mother: 'I drifted from the point, because of your cross-questioning. You are not aware of all the facts concerning our lives, to judge him correctly. Owing to my continued ill-health, we could not normally live as man and wife. Well, man is after all a male animal and he could not stand the strain of a single life for long, in the bloom of his natural health.'

Son: 'So you expect that if he should return to me as a 'prodigal' father, (not as the prodigal son in the Biblical story) I should look after him and attend to his personal comforts in his old age. Is this what you are driving at?'

Mother: 'Yes. If I should live, I would still welcome him. As the Tamil proverb has it, the parent is always fond of his son. His daily prayer or wish is that the world should speak highly of the son; and that when the child grows up, it should not suffer what the father had been through. Whatever the reciprocal feeling of the grown-up son be, it is but a part of 'Nature' for a parent to love his child. The son's tender hold on the father's shoulders will bring down the strength of the strongest man to that of a weakling. The cultural blossom of the Hindu civilization is the son's love of the male parent, in the tacit and blind acceptance by the son of the father's shortcomings or defects of character.'



Top: The Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Lower picture gives an artist's impression of King George's Medical College at Lucknow.

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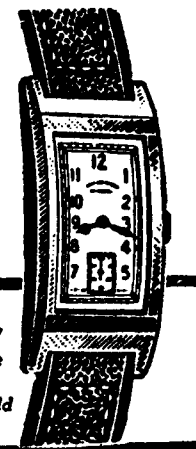
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for a son may not know why his father had acted in a particular way in life. Please try to live up to this ideal, and this is my last behest to you. His last spoken word to me was *Sukhi Evvaro*, meaning, Which man is indeed happy?

SCENE II.

Three years later. Father and Son.

On the occasion of the doctor's visit to the village to take a holiday as well as to collect rents from his mother's property, Rati whom he had not seen for about 12 years, called on him, and invited him to attend the marriage of her daughter about to be celebrated, with an affectation of relationship. A sense of his higher social standing, conflicting with her own attitude towards him, perturbed his mind. It required all his self-control not to lose his temper with her. His mother's parting words had been agitating him, and he was quite anxious if his father would turn up at all.

One day the doctor saw on the road an old man of about 51 years, in tatters but clean, asking a street-walker, *Sukhi Evvaro*. He immediately recognised in the old man his father, though the latter failed to recognise the son. The father was carried to the nursing home and the son sought to reawaken and kindle in the old man, who had lost his senses, memories of his early days. It was a hard struggle as he was suffering from two types of malignant fevers. Sometime later the father had shown glimpses of recovery to sanity, and of awakening to the normal world of the living and recognised the son in the doctor.

Son: 'Father, you will soon be hale and hearty and we will be able to live happily ever afterwards.'

Father: 'Should I live at all with so much misery facing me wherever I roam? I see so much struggle for every man to obtain even the normal satisfaction of hunger—a wife, a healthy home and children, and friends. What should I say of the poor labouring menfolk—say working at the port of Calcutta, or in railway station yards at Howrah, huddled up in all misery, living in ill-ventilated rooms or in the slums, near about the Hooghly river, with insecure and insufficient daily earnings and without the ability to maintain a home?'

Son (to detract his attention): 'You have only to take a few injections to throw off the malignant fevers due to parasites in your blood-stream. You will shortly recover, be again cheerful, living happily with your son.'

Father: 'My illness is not of the body but of the mind and brain. I did not want to die with the thought that my only son bears a grudge against me or that he is angry with me for the ills I may have, in the world's estimation, done to him.'

Son: 'Let bygones be bygones. Let us not think of the past.'

Father: 'Your suddenly flushed-up face shows that you have not forgiven me for my conduct towards your mother and yourself. I should talk it out straight with you before my heart stops beating. May I know if ever your mother talked ill of me to you?'

Son: 'Not at all. She was always charitable in her thoughts of you. Even if her last moments, she was all praise of your good nature and defended your conduct. She always said that our temporary misery was due to the *karma* of previous lives. She even observed that had you not left us to ourselves, I should have been a different man from what I am today.'

Father: 'Ah, yes. She was an angelic woman.'

A few more weeks elapsed. The father seemed improving in health after several injections. They had been causing him pain in the constant pricking; the reactions in the skin and blood made him very sensitive to pain.

Father: 'It is my *karma* to suffer pain from the pricks of a steel needle so often at your hands? Your kicks when you were a baby in my arms were gladsome. How different is the feeling today of these pricks?'

Son: 'I could have entrusted the treatment to others. I feel it my duty that I should bring you back to normal health so that you may be happy in your advancing age. These new drugs are so powerful that much alertness is needed in handling them.'

A few days later.

Father: 'Have you heard of, or seen Rati?'

Son (With a flushed face, but with full self-control): 'Rati is no more in the land of the living.'

Father: 'What of her daughter?'

Son (Cynically): 'She was married before her mother's demise to a stalwart young farmer, and both of them now work on the lands you willed away to Rati. They have a son now and are quite happy.'

Father (Noticing the son's cynicism): 'I am glad you referred incidentally to my paternal inheritance. How is it yours? By right?'

Son (Now forced to argument by the spirit of the father): 'You had been cruel to mother. She pined for you, having not heard from you for a dozen years!'

Father: 'Why wrest from me the secret springs of my life? It is *karma* or destiny. You have already known, or guessed, that Rati's daughter is mine. I may assure you that I have not *misbehaved* with any other woman, speaking in terms of your moral ideas. Rati was my second love. My conduct was permitted by the social code of the land. Your mother was quite ill for a very long while. I cursed my stars that, possessing a pretty and loving wife, I should yet for ever remain virtually a celibate. I was Rati's 'lover' in the sense that she would not take any monies from me, as from others. She found joy and fulfilment in my love. Very soon she rejected all other visitors. I knew well that her temple services for dancing were ill-paid. She lived for me alone and in due course she bore me a girl. The girl's birth gave me a mental shock. Immediately I made up my mind that my own property would in good time be entirely the new-born babe's and her mother's as I held myself responsible for bringing that child into the world. That woman, Rati, was a gem. True, she allured me; but she gave me an emotional and aesthetic satisfaction in her music and dance, meant for my ears and eyes alone, which so called family women were generally incapable of. Until wives act also as *hetaerae* to husbands, the sanctity of the institution of marriage will collapse. I decided that your mother's property should suffice for both of you and willed away my own property to Rati, feeling that prostitution was more due to economic want than to any other cause. Now that you know all this, judge me in whatsoever manner you choose.'

'As for justification for the desertion of your mother, you were growing to be an adolescent. Your eyes were watching my movements. You would be hearing soon of the world's estimate of my conduct. So to avoid social odium and your derision, I went up far north to earn my livelihood as a labourer. I may add that there is more

holiness of humanity resident in villages with a few hundred houses built in country bricks and in the mud houses surrounding them, than in all the storeyed buildings of modern cities.

'I often asked myself "Which man is indeed happy?" Man can be happy only when his instinctive life of hunger, sex and gregariousness, finds regular and normal satisfactions in good nourishing food at reasonable times, and in the companionship of a loving wife in a healthy home with children and friends. I have realised now the truth of the Sanskrit Verse that happiness is not for one who fasts or eats too much, nor for one who sleeps too much or keeps night vigils. Old maids, old bachelors, widowhood and widowerhood are blots on our civilization. Social institutions should somehow work for individual happiness. There can be no standard set up for an entire world. Ethical conduct must vary from man to man, provided of course that no harm happens to an individual man or woman, or to society as a whole.'

The son saw that this long talk had completely exhausted the father. An injection was getting ready to be given to the patient. But the son's mind was in a cloud at the unexpected dissertation of the father, who saw life through, and whole, and his hands worked clumsily. The needle went wrong with antimony tartarate, the then known specific and the steel point broke under the father's skin and airbubbles travelled up the vein. Death was a matter of a few moments. The son cried 'I have killed my father.' His Oedipus complex, or his long submerged hateful thoughts, nurtured during the last 14 years regarding the father, owing to the lasting affection for the mother, which had not yet been replaced by that of a wife, had wrought the deed.

He wept: 'O Father, forgive me for all my derisive thoughts of you in the past, in viewing the poor state of my mother. My God forgive me for my sinful attitude. Verily, Thou art a Buddha on the Path.'

The long neglected photograph of the father, cherished by the mother and lying in a dark corner, gained a noticeable position and was bedecked with flowers every day.

Strangely enough, it is not in our reason that our moral life has its being; and he who would let reason govern his life will be the most wretched of men. There is not a virtue, a beautiful thought or generous deed, but has most of its roots hidden far away, from that which can be understood or explained.—
Maeterlinck.

A CERTAIN AMOUNT of pleasant surprise is being expressed in international circles at the approval given by Russia to the conversion of the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific into strategic trusteeship areas under the sole control of the United States as recently proposed by the latter. This is considered to be the first occasion of Russia showing some friendliness towards American military measures. The Russian approval is based on the ground that the United States played a decisive role in destroying the Japanese power in the Pacific and that she is consequently entitled to appropriate for herself what she regards as essential for her security and defence. Although American papers welcome this changed attitude on the part of the Soviet as a praiseworthy gesture there is a suspicion that Russia is playing a deep game and that this is only a preliminary to her putting forward at the forthcoming Moscow Conference claims to certain areas in the conquest of which she played a decisive role in the war with Germany.

OCCUPIED JAPAN

Americans are now interested in broadcasting to the world as to what changes they have already introduced into Japan which is under their occupation and what changes they propose to introduce in the coming years. In a recent communique General MacArthur has stated that mere military occupation of a conquered country would not ensure future peace unless during the occupation a complete spiritual reformation, sufficient to exert a dominating influence over generations to come were also accomplished. To achieve this he has made it clear to the government of the United States that ample funds and personnel should be made available assuring that whenever funds are spent to-day for rehabilitating Japan can later on be got back from the Japanese when they recover some degree of their old prosperity. Mr. Atcheson, the Chairman of the Allied Council of Japan and several of his expert advisers have told



Spotlight On The World

by
Prof. M. VENEKARANGAIYA, M.A.

American audiences how in pursuance of this aim the occupied authorities have brought about a complete change in the system of Japanese education, in the text books being used in schools, the grant of academic freedom to University professors, the organisation of Labour Unions, the enfranchisement of women and the grant of full civil liberties. By measures like these—which are more or less like the measures introduced by the British for the Anglicisation of India—the United States authorities are trying to Americanise the Japanese. How far all this is consistent with the policy of keeping the Japanese underfed and undernourished and de-industrialising the country is a matter well worth serious consideration.

KOREA

While Japan is under the sole occupation of the United States—the other powers having only a nominal role in it—Korea has been divided between Soviet Russia and the United States. The former is occupying the northern portion while the latter is occupying the south. In the proclamation that President Truman issued on September 18, 1945 it was stated that the liberation of Korea after 35 years of Japanese overlordship would be accompanied by an early establishment of a provisional national government for the whole country which would pave the way for her complete independence. A resolution that such a government should be established was passed at the Moscow Conference of the four Foreign Ministers in December 1945. This was to be done in consultation with Korean leaders. The understanding was that the grant of independence should be preceded by a Four-Power trusteeship for a period of five years. In March 1946 Russian and American

delegates met in a Conference at Seoul to give effect to the resolution of the Moscow Conference but it broke up as the Russians did not agree to consult all the political organisations in Korea especially those who demanded immediate independence. The Americans insisted on consultation with all on the ground that it was the only democratic course. The Conference was suspended and it did not meet again. The result is that Korea is now being artificially divided into two unequal halves with an iron curtain between them. This division has proved economically disastrous as the Russian zone is entirely industrial while the American zone is entirely agricultural. Each of the two occupying authorities is pursuing a policy of its own with a view to see that its influence is established over the whole country if at any time a unification is brought about. The Russians are encouraging the Communists in their zone while the Americans are setting up the traditional kind of democratic regime. The latest report is that the Russians have drafted into the army all Koreans between the ages of 17 and 25 which will give to them a force of 500,000 men. General Hodges, the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. forces in Korea is now in Washington consulting General Marshall on this and other issues. The growth of a Communist army in Korea is bound to influence the course of events in China.

CHINA

China is now faced with two difficulties. The tension between the Kuomintang and the Communists has become more intense. Chiang has called on all Communist dele-

gations in nationalist China to withdraw into their territory of Yen-an. This is interpreted by the Communists as amounting to a desire on the part of Chiang not to enter into any more negotiations with them but to fight the civil war to its bitter end. And in certain areas the war has already entered on this stage. But much more serious than this is the economic crisis with which the country is faced to-day. It is indicated by the resignation of Dr. Soong the Chinese Prime Minister who has been accused of being responsible for the critical financial situation and the assumption of the office of Premier by Chiang himself. The deterioration in the economic situation has been going on for years and it has now come to a climax. The war has brought about over taxation. The civil war to-day is absorbing nearly 80 per cent. of the government's financial resources. This is one of the main causes of the currency inflation and the fabulous rise in prices and the depreciation in foreign exchange. There has also been a collapse in export trade while there has been no corresponding decrease in imports. The balance of trade has become adverse. The existence of numerous monopolies and the hold which the "Central Trust"—a government monopoly concern—has over much of the inland and foreign trade as well as the abuse resorted to by corrupt officials in the issue of licences and permits—all this has brought economic ruin. Unless heroic measures are adopted by Chiang and something is done to put an end to civil war the future of China is bound to be dark. To us in India the civil strife in China has a great lesson to teach.

MALAYAN UNION

Trouble is brewing in British Malaya over the proposals recently announced by the British Govern-

ment regarding the future government of the country. It is now reported that the Chinese and Malays are organising themselves throughout the country to fight the imposition of Federation proposals. The situation in Malaya is complicated by two factors. One is the existence of a number of states ruled by sultans. This stands in the way of a uniform and co-ordinated system of administration. The other is the existence of people belonging to different racial groups. In 1941 the estimated population was 5½ millions. Of these 43 per cent. were Chinese, 41 per cent. were Malays, 13 per cent. were Indians, 0.33 per cent. Europeans, 0.5 per cent. Eurasians and 1 per cent. others. The Chinese are thus the biggest numerical group. They are bigger than even the Malays. So long as the area was ruled as a crown colony and the people were not given any share in government the existence of these racial groups did not matter much. They were all equally subject to the same autocratic rule. But in the Federation proposals it is contemplated to have a legislative council with an unofficial majority. The 34 unofficial seats are so distributed that Malays get nine, Chinese six, Europeans three, Indians two, Eurasians one, the Sultans nine, and two from any community. There is a mixture of territorial, communal and functional representation as in British India. This distribution is considered to be unfair. Moreover all real power is lodged with the British High Commissioner and the element of self-government is little. There is therefore considerable dissatisfaction with the proposals and the demand is for their complete revision.

THE UNITED STATES AND PALESTINE

In the course of his statement on Palestine in the House of Commons Mr. Bevin accused President Truman of being responsible for the failure of the London Conference last year and for the inter-transfer subsequently displayed by the Jews in arriving at a settlement. The reference was to a statement issued by President Truman

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in October last that he would insist on 100,000 Jews being admitted into Palestine. Mr. Bevin stated that this was done by the President with an eye on the American elections then pending in the United States and ignoring that Britain had heavy responsibilities to discharge as a mandatory. Of course Mr. Bevin's charges have been immediately refuted by the State Department of the United States and the refutation is accompanied by the expression of the view that "America's interest in Palestine is of long and continuous standing and that it is a deep and abiding interest shared by all the people without regard to their political affiliations." All this may be true. The United States has a large Jewish population and these play a very important part in the politics of the country. It is because of this that vast funds are being raised there to help the Jews

—even those Jews determined on obtaining Megal entry into Palestine. But the United States is not yet ready to help British with the armies and finances required to enable her to effectively discharge her obligations as a mandatory. Terrorism is now renewed and all its evil effects are experienced by the British alone. Instead of waiting till September next for the United Nations to recommend a solution for the Palestine problem it is high time that the United States and Britain immediately put forward a joint solution for it and decide on the measures to be taken to enforce it. For, as Mr. Bevin has put it while there is complete understanding between the two countries on all other issues it is on this that they are not able to arrive at any agreement. It is this absence of agreement that is giving encouragements to the terrorists.



Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Member of the first National Government of our Country, who marked the opening of a new era in our history with the recent Central Government's Budget.

DR. P. V. CHERIAN

(By Our City Reporter)

THE appointment of Dr. P. V. Cherian as the Acting Surgeon-General of Madras has been widely welcomed. An acknowledged expert in ear, nose and throat diseases, an experienced teacher and a capable administrator, Dr. Cherian is the first Indian to hold this position. Another point of significance in his appointment lies in the fact that for the first time a person who does not belong to the 'steel frame' of the Indian Medical Service has been appointed to the post of Surgeon-General. The Government of Madras are to be congratulated on the bold lead they have given to other Provinces in destroying two conventions which have for so long been an affront to the experience and efficiency of the civil medical officers of our country.



Dr. P. V. Cherian.

Interviewed by *Swatantra's* representative on his appointment, Dr. Cherian disclosed two interesting facts about himself. Our Surgeon-General had never won a single prize throughout his academic career and was in fact considered to be very mediocre in his studies. This must certainly bring good cheer to those boys in the Medical College who are forced to adopt the tactics of Mahmud of Ghazni in the battle of the examinations. Further, Dr. Cherian could not have obtained admission to the Medical College under the present rules. His optional subjects in the Intermediate were History and Logic. We tremble to think of the innumerable number of tonsils that would have remained unoperated, the noses that would have remained uncauterised and the ears that would have remained uncleaned if the rule excluding history students from admission to the Medical College had been in existence when young Cherian hopefully applied for a seat in 1912.

Cherian was then a fashionable youth of 19. He belonged to a respectable Syrian Christian family

and his father, the late Mr. P. M. Varkey, had served as the *Anchal* Superintendent (equivalent to Post-Master-General) of Travancore. He graduated in 1917 and was immediately appointed Assistant Surgeon in the Maternity Hospital. Cherian did not stay there for long. The Great War was in the final stages and his spirit of adventure as well as a shrewd estimate of future prospects prompted him to apply for a temporary commission in the I.M.S. He was selected and for the next five years he wore His Majesty's uniform and gained valuable experience in field work. Three out of those five years were spent by Captain Cherian in Iraq.

On his discharge from the Army he was appointed Assistant Professor of Biology in the Madras Medical College. Fortune, which till now had been very considerate to Cherian now smiled broadly at him in the person of Major (now Lt.-General) Ernest Bradfield who was then Professor of Surgery in the Madras Medical College. Bradfield was impressed with the energy

and efficiency displayed by the young Travancorean and got him appointed as his assistant. Very soon Cherian was selected to go abroad for specialised training in ear, nose and throat diseases. He worked in several hospitals in London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Vienna and his Professors were surprised at his quick mastery of the intricacies of E.N.T. surgery.

Returning to India, Cherian was put in charge of the E.N.T. Department in the General Hospital. He soon established a name for himself as an 'expert' and a lucrative practice rewarded him. As there was no European specialist in that sphere even the proud noses of Governors and the sweet throats of their damsels were kept in good repair by the dexterous fingers of Cherian. To the thousands of sufferers in the Madras Presidency, Dr. Cherian became the last court of appeal in ear, nose and throat diseases.

In 1936 Dr. Cherian once again visited Europe and studied the latest advances in E.N.T. surgery at the foremost clinics of the Continent. In 1942 he was made a Member of the British Empire and in 1945 he became Principal of the Madras Medical College. On March 1, 1947, when Maj.-Gen. Huban took leave preparatory to retirement Dr. Cherian was appointed Acting Surgeon-General of Madras.

Dr. Cherian married Srimathi Tarabai Jesudasan, daughter of the late Rao Bahadur D. I. Jesudasan, Assistant Postmaster-General, Madras. They have three daughters and one son. The Cherians are well-known in Madras social circles, both Indian and European.

The new Surgeon-General will have to face several urgent problems and evolve solutions for them. In the first place steps should be taken to implement the recommendations of the Bhore Committee. The

magnitude of this task is shown by the following table which gives an idea of the present position of health services in India and what the Bhore Committee has recommended.

Now

Doctors	1 for 68,000 people
Qualified Nurses	1 for 48,000 "
Midwives	1 for 60,000 "
Dentists	1 for 300,000 "
Health visitors	1 for 400,000 "

Bhore Committee

Doctors	1 for 2,000 people
Qualified Nurses	1 for 5,000 "
Midwives	1 for 4,000 "
Dentists	1 for 4,000 "
Health visitors	1 for 5,000 "

Our Surgeon-General is no doubt aware of the grave injustice done to senior provincial medical officers by the reservation of key posts for the I.M.S. The Health Ministers' Conference held in New Delhi recently unanimously adopted a resolution that I.M.S. officers in civil employ should be immediately recalled to the Army. This resolution should be implemented and the whole medical service should be provincialised.

The Surgeon-General should also take serious note of the deterioration in academic standards as a result of the preoccupation of the teaching staff with their private practice. In Europe and America teachers are not allowed to have private practice because they are expected to devote their spare time to scientific and medical research.

Lastly, the Surgeon-General should put an end to corruption and bribery in hospitals with a stern hand. Government hospitals are intended for the poor and the time has come when people who can afford to pay should be debarred from hospitals except in cases where facilities for treatment are not available outside. This will be an incentive to the starting of well-equipped nursing homes run by specialists on a co-operative basis.

INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO CHINA

(From Our Diplomatic Correspondent)

I WENT to Cochin House, a most inviting building in Jantar Mantar Road and sent in my card. Mr. K. P. S. Menon, India's Ambassador to China, had asked me to see him at 9-15 in the morning. In a few minutes Mr. Menon sauntered along in his full six feet and putting a hand over me apologised for the 'delay'. To me who had waited for hours on end on certain occasions to see a big personality, Mr. Menon's 'apology' came as a surprise and put me at ease completely. I ruminated within myself how India would be if only Pandit Nehru could get a few hundreds more of 'Embassy' people (not only Ambassadors) who would be cheerful, jovial and civil as Mr. Menon is.

We went out into the garden and Mr. Menon posed for a few snaps. I was so much at home that I even dared to ask him to stand out in certain places suitable to the camera.

We then went inside and Mr. Menon gave me particulars of his career. His career both in the academic sphere and in the civil service has been marvellous.

Mr. Menon was born in Travancore on 18th October 1898. He was educated in the Madras Christian College and had a bright career in Oxford and finally passed out of the I.C.S. walking away with the first rank.

Mr. Menon has seen service in Madras and in States like Hyderabad and Jodhpur. He was Agent to the Government of India in Ceylon from 1929 to 1933. One of his outstanding achievements was his outspoken report on the Clove Mission in Zanzibar which created a stir in India and eventually led to the boycott of Zanzibar cloves by Indian merchants. Mr. Menon was posted to China as Agent-General for India in September 1943. He attended the Conference of the United Nations in San Fran-



K. P. S. Menon.

cisco as Principal Adviser to the Indian Delegation and also attended the General Assembly of the United Nations at New York in 1946 as one of the alternate delegates. In 1944 Mr. Menon did a trip from India to Chungking across the Himalayas through the Kharakorum, through the Palmyrs and through the deserts of Central Asia.

I asked Mr. Menon how he found China in her present conditions with a civil war on and with the national economy almost collapsing. Mr. Menon told me that he had not come across a more cheerful set of people than the Chinese. In spite of the appalling poverty and utter lack of necessities of life, the Chinese were remarkably jovial. As an example of how the Chinese took things cheerfully, he said that one Chinese could carry thrice as much load as an Indian farmer and yet dispense with grumbling like a camel. China, having been in the war longest, Mr. Menon thought that it would take some considerable time for her to regain her economic equilibrium and till then she would have to face her problems with the fortitude that is peculiarly hers.

I asked whether the Indian Embassy experienced any difficulty on

account of the civil war conditions in the country. Mr. Menon said that as far as foreign embassies, commercial interests etc., were concerned, they had no great difficulty. He said that his Embassy would be moving to Nanking with the Chinese Government.

In reply to my query whether China was making any attempt at industrialisation since the termination of hostilities, he said that China was essentially an agricultural country and her economy was such that whatever she produced in the past was consumed by the Chinese themselves so that there was very little, if at all, scope for export. Mr. Menon said that the instability of China's finance stood in the way of any major trade relations between the two great countries but he revealed that he was moving the authorities in India to

appoint a Trade Commissioner in China.

Major Hassan, Mr. Menon's Secretary at the Embassy, is now in charge of the Embassy and acting as *Charge d'affaires*. Mr. Menon's desire is that there should be no unnecessary expansion in his Embassy staff at present and he is therefore taking with him only some experienced cipher staff as the Embassy will be taking over the issue of visas etc., hitherto attended to by the British authorities.

Mr. Menon also revealed that a book written by him entitled *DELHI-CHUNGKING* will shortly be published in India.

Without fear of contradiction I can say that there are not even a handful of people in our country possessing the sterling qualities of Mr. Menon and let us wish him success as our Ambassador to China.

THE ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

by "KAUSHIK"

THE forthcoming Asian Relations Conference is as unique in its conception as it is daring. The Conference has been convened for the specific purpose of discussing social, economic and cultural problems common to all Asiatic countries. The conveners of the Conference have thus prudently laid strong and sure foundations for lasting friendship and understanding among the Asiatic nations and also given a lie direct to the insidious and interested propaganda that the Conference has been convened in a spirit of challenge to European countries.

The actual seeds of the Conference were sown by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who delivered a speech in August 1946 at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs. As a sequel to Pandit Nehru's speech, the Executive Committee of the Council decided to form an organising committee consisting of influential members of the public life of India. A working committee of 9 was formed initially with Pandit Nehru as Chairman but subsequent to Pandit Nehru taking up office in the Interim Government, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu became the Chairman of an expanded working committee of 17.

An Organising Committee was formed and besides national leaders like Nehru, Azad and Rajaji, it consists of men drawn from different walks of life. Among industrialists are Dr. Alagappa Chettiar, Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. H. P. Modi. Mr. Ashok Mehta represents Socialists. The Hon. Jagliwan Ram officially represents labour and the redoubtable Mr. N. M. Joshi represents unofficial labour. Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs. Shiva Rao and Mrs. Pandit represent the Women's movement in India.

Only the opening and closing sessions of the Conference on March 23 and April 2 respectively are open to the public and the press. In the

intervening period, the Conference will divide itself into Round Table Groups to discuss the topics selected for discussion. The conveners have drawn up a list of very interesting subjects for discussion. The public may expect a wealth of information as a result of discussions on subjects like racial problems and Asian migration. The National Movements for Freedom in Asia is a fit subject for discussion coming as the Conference does at a time of rapid political transition among Asiatic nations.

Invitations have been issued to all countries of Asia including the Asian Republics of the U.S.S.R. and significantly enough, the conveners have invited academic and cultural organisations which are interested in world problems with particular reference to Asiatic ones. The response, as is evident from reports, seems to be highly satisfactory. Many Governments are sending observers to the Conference, a fact which indicates the interest that has been aroused in the Governments of Asiatic countries. Even non-Asiatic countries have been invited to send observers. The Institute of Pacific Relations is sending four observers, among them the well-known journalist, Mr. Edgar Snow. Mr. Gerald Packer who was a delegate to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in 1938 and a famous author will be an observer on behalf of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. The Pacific Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. is sending observers to the Conference.

The Conference Secretariat have arranged to get memoranda on all important subjects from prominent authors and associations in India and according to their announcement, they are getting memoranda also from delegates attending the Conference from outside India. The treasure of information that is bound to be presented by such



papers will furnish a valuable background for the delegates for discussion and enable them to come to considered conclusions.

The convening authorities have arranged some exhibitions to entertain the delegates. On three evenings three different programmes have been arranged for the visiting delegates. The famous Indian National Theatre of Bombay is understood to be producing a ballet based on Pandit Nehru's "Discovery of India." The Shantiniketan artists are presenting a dance drama based on a play written by Rabindranath Tagore. Poet Vallathole of Malabar is presenting Kathakali dances with Miss Tara Chowdhri rendering Bharatanatyam dances.

The entertainment programmes are a remarkable attempt to present India in its true perspective and one hopes that unlike in the past the delegates will be shown round places of historical, cultural and social interests which will bring

home to the delegates not only the greatness of India that was but also impress upon them the common cultural ties that unite the Asiatic countries and will place them on the road to progress in the years to come.

India is fortunate to play the host to over 20 prominent Asiatic countries. In addition to bonds that unite the countries together, there are common problems which have to be faced collectively and solved in a manner which behoves the great traditions of Asia of the past. Cultural affinity is a great factor in favour of a permanent Asiatic organisation and it would only be in the fitness of things if as a result of the Conference, an Asian Relations Institute comes into being which will be the precursor to a future in which Asia will lead the world, socially, economically and culturally and belie the general belief that the Asian countries are behind other western countries in the dynamic and changing modern world.

THE ARAB CASE IN PALESTINE

by A. V. SUBRAMANIAN, B.Sc.

BROADLY speaking, the problem of Palestine is not merely one of immigration but of a challenging, modernised minority threatening to engulf a majority not yet fully conscious of the part it can play in the economy of Palestine. It is not to say Arab Palestine is not waking up. Already the rude knocks of zealous Zionism have awakened a sense of reality in the minds of thoughtful Arabs. The fear expressed in many Arab capitals that, once established in Palestine, the Jews would find the temptation to push on a campaign of annexation all round very hard to resist, has prompted neighbouring Arab countries to help advance the Arab cause in Palestine. The American financial aid to the Jewish immigrants is offset, in a measure, by the material help and support extended by the thoughtful Arabs of the Levant. These factors, among others, have served to make the Arabs of Palestine the most politically conscious in the Arab world.

The Arab village presents today the most significant evidence of the new social forces that are changing the face of Palestine. The large landholdings of the Ottoman days that had continued undisturbed till the beginning of Jewish immigration have now been parcelled out into economic units. The latest inventions of farm machinery can be seen in the service of enlightened Arab farmers who now own about 10 per cent of all the tractors in the country. Agricultural production has shot up as a result, the yield of grain having increased by 68 per cent (in spite of a decline in the area under grain) and that of vegetables by over 100 per cent. This means a great deal as the economy of the Arabs is predominantly agricultural and more than 92 per cent. of the rural population is Arab. In the hilly country of Judaea, especially, the Arab farmer has been wresting more than a bare living from the soil by growing fruits in terraced land with industry, faith and determination.

The Arab urban population is about 30% of the total Arab population and is mainly engaged in agricultural marketing, small-scale manufacturing and handicraft. There has been a steady increase in the number of Arab workshops and factories in the last two decades and in the quality of skilled Arab labour. Agricultural prosperity and the Jewish demand for Arab real estate have placed a huge capital in the hands of Arab entrepreneurs who have not been slow in making use of it for promoting industrial enterprises, and more recently, for Arab banking.

This agricultural and industrial stability of the Arabs has resulted in a further stiffening of the Arab attitude towards the Jews and the mandatory power. The Arabs rejected the Peel Commission Report and the British plan for provincial autonomy. The threats of violence from the Irgun Zual Leumi and other Jewish terrorist organisations have been met by threats of open warfare and wholesale destruction of Jewish settlements from Arab extremist organisations.

But the Arab leadership has not been idly propagating threats of mass violence only. The proposals recently drawn up by the Arabs for solving the present deadlock envisage a provisional government for Palestine to be nominated by the High Commissioner and to consist of seven Arab and three Jewish ministers. This government is to draw up a constitution for a free Palestine with adequate guarantees for the minority community and place it for approval before an elected Constituent Assembly. The Constitution is to be ready and the Mandate ended before December 31, 1948.

These proposals have not naturally found favour with either the Jews or the British and the provision against further immigration will not help in securing their acceptance by America. Disruptive elements in Palestine itself, and abroad, in the British press and the



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American administration will seek to thwart any such negotiated peace between the chronic-warring communities. Schemes such as this that have been forged at the Arab or the Jewish anvil have not a chance of success in this murky

atmosphere of ill-will, suspicion and intrigue.

Instead the whole question of Palestine is to be referred to the United Nations Organisation and the world is to sit in judgment over the land.

FROM ENGINE DRIVER TO PRIME MINISTER

CAREER OF BEN CHIEFLEY

AUSTRALIA'S Labour Prime-Minister, Mr. Joseph Benedict Chifley, was one of the closest and oldest friends of the late Prime Minister, Mr. John Curtin. About the same age—he is 61—they grew up together in the Labour movement and agreed on basic Party issues.

Six feet tall, "Ben" Chifley began life as an engine driver and has been active in Labour politics ever since. He was born in Bathurst, a small city 145 miles over the blue mountains from Sydney, of Irish parents, and still lives in the house he took his bride to 30 years ago.

He was part-owner of a local newspaper, the *Bathurst Advocate*, and for a brief period in the 1920's went out of politics to run it. But he was back in 1928 as an M.P. for the State of New South Wales.

He is a forthright, simple and homely man, approachable and friendly. Big jobs do not make him inaccessible to old friends, and he still lives very simply, his one extravagance is his pipe, which he smokes continually.

He has been nicknamed "Hamlet" by his parliamentary friends, because of the grave way in which he stalks along the corridors in Parliament House in Canberra.

In the 1940 election he was so ill with double pneumonia that he was unable to take any part in the campaign. But it did not affect the result; he was returned with a big majority. His political friends still

talk how he just about managed to get to Canberra in time for the swearing-in ceremony of the new parliament. He was gaunt and white as a sheet, and though six feet tall and broad, he weighed only about nine stones. He made, however, a complete recovery.

Chifley is a fluent and clear but unemotional speaker, has his own mind and sticks to it, and never in his long career has been known to sling mud at an opponent. He arrives at his political views through hard-headed reasoning, knows industrial law, and in the early days was an advocate in the State (New South Wales) and federal industrial and arbitration courts.

He has held important posts under both the Right and the Left Governments. In 1935 he was a member of the Royal Commission on banking. The Menzies Government also appointed him Director of Labour in the newly formed Ministry of Munitions when war broke out. Under Curtin and throughout the time when Australia faced the threat of a Japanese invasion, he had the difficult job of running the Commonwealth's heavy war finances as Federal Treasurer.

Naturally retiring, Chifley has never had much limelight, but the work he has done in Australian politics has been solid and substantial. Though people like him readily, he does not court favour and prefers to read, think and discuss rather than go out and about as a back-slapping "mixer".

GLIMPSES OF AMERICAN NEWS

(From Our Correspondent)

New York City: The Republicans seem determined to try to limit a President to two terms in the White House. There is no law now against three terms or more. But there is a tradition against it, dating back to George Washington who quit after two. A number of Presidents, Jefferson, Jackson, Johnson, Hayes, Taft, Cleveland favoured a limit on presidential terms. No President ever had more than two until President Roosevelt won a third term in 1940 and a fourth in 1944. In those critical years the voters gave Mr. Roosevelt a third and fourth term because they trusted his leadership or feared a change. The Republicans, citing tradition, screamed against those third and fourth terms and called for a ban on more than two terms. The only way it could be done was by amending the constitution to limit the number of terms. The constitution does not set a limit now. But the Republicans are in control and they are doing something about it. Some Democrats are helping them. Some Democrats joined the Republicans in approving in the House judiciary committee, a proposal which would do this: Amend the constitution to limit the President to two terms in the White House. And it does not mean two full terms. It means any part of two. For example: President Truman was not elected to his present term. Stepping up from the Vice-Presidency, he is serving out Mr. Roosevelt's unexpired term. If he should be elected in 1948 to a full term, that would be considered Mr. Truman's second term. He could not run again in 1952 or ever. This proposed constitutional change may come up for a vote in the full House very shortly. The Republicans are all for speed in this. It will need a two-thirds vote to pass. Smart Democrats think it will pass, with some Democrats joining Republicans to put it through. If it passes the Houses then it goes to the Senate. A two-thirds vote is needed there, too. If it passes both Houses one more step is

needed before it can become a constitutional amendment: Thirty-six of the 48 state legislatures or 36 state constitutional conventions must approve. This is not so easy. But there will be plenty of argument before that day, if it comes, when the President's terms are limited. The big question in the argument is this: What is wrong with a man's being elected President as often as the people want him? Briefly here is the argument against more than two terms. (1) It is dangerous to keep one man as President too long since he may grab too much power and even become a dictator. (2) In a democracy no one man should be so necessary that he must be kept in office indefinitely. (3) A change in the presidency is good for the country. It means fresh blood and fresh ideas with no one man getting stale and old in office.

Briefly, here is the argument against a limit on the presidency: (1) The U.S.A. has enough safeguards to keep any man from grabbing too much power or becoming a dictator no matter how often he is President. (2) The people at all times should be trusted to elect or reject a man or keep in office indefinitely any man they think should be there. (3) The people of this generation, by constitutional amendment, should not be able to prevent future generations from doing what they wish. For example: In some future crisis, as in 1940 and 1944, they might want to keep one man in the presidency for the sake of the country. But a constitutional amendment, passed now to limit presidential terms, would prevent that.

Washington Predictions

Labour insiders are predicting John L. Lewis will disappear from the national scene as a labour mogul before 1947 is out. They are passing out the word behind the scenes that he is all washed up, both as boss of the United States Mine Workers and as potential head

of the American Federation of Labour, an ambition Lewis has nursed for a quarter century. General Eisenhower will retire this summer, after Congress has acted on the major military legislations pending before it. Admiral Nimitz will retire as Chief of Naval Operations this summer, also after Congress adjourns. General Omar Bradley will succeed Eisenhower. The Republicans will revive the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills and force vote on them. The Presidential war powers will not be repealed. They will be retained for at least another year.

India In American Papers

A national weekly under the caption "Shocking Fumble" has this to say:— "No one was surprised when Mohamed Ali Jinnah once again slammed the door on Indian unity. The predominantly Hindu All-India Congress Party had neatly cornered Jinnah early in January, by substantially agreeing to his conditions for Muslim League participation in the constitution-making Assembly. Then Congress Party Boss Vallabhai Patel com-

mitted an amazing political fumble. His stooge in the Punjab Coalition Government, Bhim Sen Sachar, abruptly ordered suppression of the League's "National Guard," arrested several prominent Punjab Muslim leaders. Moderate Punjab Prime Minister Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana tried to remedy the damage, but the Muslims delightedly courted further arrest. Jinnah screamed "uncalled for aggression," declared that the League could never join Hindus in a unified Assembly, asked Britain to dissolve the body. The Chamber of Indian Princes also slapped at the Congress Party, indicating that Muslim members might join with Jinnah in opposing Indian unification. The princes were sore at what the Nawab of Bhopal called a campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of the Princely order.

"Before the Assembly convenes again in April, the British (who only want to get out) would have recast or reaffirm their India policy, unless Patel could re-corner Jinnah and mollify the nawabs and maharajahs."

THE POLICE AND THE PEOPLE

by "MIMI"

WITH popular Governments in the saddle of Provincial Administrations and India on the eve of her entry into the temple of freedom, it is essential for the ordered progress of the nation as a whole to have a clear and well-thought-out idea as to the part and position of the police force in the life of the country, particularly in view of the fact that the role that the police had to play in the past was an unnatural one with regard to the people. Forming the most important weapon repeatedly resorted to by an alien Government in its ruthless attempt at perpetuating its suzerainty, the achievement of the police consisted in the inhumanities it perpetrated, the injuries it inflicted and the insults it heaped on the people. The promotion of the officers depended upon their callousness, cruelty and excesses. The only thing that was expected of the police was to strike terror into the hearts of the people by indiscriminate excesses and not to allow them even to whisper anything against the Government in power. The greater the lack of civility they displayed towards civilians, the greater was considered to be the prestige of the policemen.

But the role of the police force in a free country is entirely a different one. It constitutes the most powerful and impregnable bulwark of peace, ordered progress and steady development of society. It is the most important limb of the country's administration forming the mainstay of the executive aspect of the State. On it depends the continued advance of all members of society along the lines best suited to their individual temperament and special genius, unmolested and unobstructed by anyone whose path does not coincide with that of the other. It is not merely the watch dog of the dominion of the Government whose interests are no longer likely to be at variance with those of the people, it may have to play the role of the guardian of the latter as against the tyranny of the

former if an occasion arises calling forth this extraordinary duty of the police force.

Unfortunately our popular Governments do not seem to have realised the need for preparing the police forces under their control for their new role. Our popular Governments have failed to strike a new note in the attitude of the police towards the people. The change that has occurred in the character and composition of the Provincial Governments has not been followed up by a corresponding and consequential change in the diehard, lordly and lofty attitude of the police officials towards the citizens. It is not to the credit of our popular Ministers that they have not taken the earliest opportunity to impress on the minds of the police officials the immediate and imperative need to change their attitude and conception of loyalty to the State, especially in view of the communal and uncertain atmosphere that is prevailing in the country.

In our own province, events have so conspired as to reassure the policemen that they can continue to lord over as in the past, with perfect immunity and without the least fear of being pulled up by the higher authorities. The promulgation of the Madras Public Safety Ordinance and the executive actions taken under it constitute the most illustrative of those events and the lathi charge on the students near the Presidency College on 23rd January last under circumstances that would have provided no justification for a lathi charge even to the Advisers' regime must be considered to be the last straw. The vesting of such vast powers in the police under the Ordinance should have been accompanied by a stern warning and strict instructions to the police not to abuse them and to resort to them only after mature deliberation, with the utmost caution, and in extreme cases, with due regard to the right of the individuals and associations to pursue

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peacefully their normal and legitimate activities unmolested by anybody in the exercise of their civil liberty. It is regrettable that no such warning was uttered by our Prime Minister who only took the opportunity of justifying the police action in the Legislature. Though it is the duty of the police to owe their loyalty to the Government in power irrespective of its composition and character in the disciplined discharge of their allotted responsibility, they must constantly bear in mind that their role is that of the trusted servant of the people. In this connection, the words of H.E. Sir Archibald Nye, the Governor of Madras, whom along with his distinguished wife, our "popular" Ministers will do well to emulate in his exemplary behaviour in touring even the most interior parts of the districts and establishing very intimate contact with the masses and whose conduct as a constitutional Governor in the fullest sense of the expression merits the unqualified admiration of all right-thinking citizens, in his address at the annual police parade held in Madras City recently, deserves the highest praise. It is an irony that what should have been uttered by our popular Ministers at the very moment of their assuming office, should be uttered by the representative of the imperialist Government to fight which the people are urged to get prepared by our "leaders" in season and out of season. The Governor said in the course of his address, "Every official, from the Governor down to the most junior constable in this province, is the servant of the people. No official should regard himself as a man divorced from the people of the Province, as a man puffed up with pride merely because in certain circumstances he is able to wield some authority, he should not think of himself as an agent of some exterior organisation imposed

upon the people from without, he should not order people about in a rude and imperious manner, nor in any way take advantage of his position. A policeman is basically, first and foremost, a citizen..... It follows, therefore, that if the police force is a good one all good people should regard the policeman as their friend and their protector, a man to whom they can go in their troubles and their difficulties, from whom they will be sure of receiving not only help but invariable courtesy. If good citizens regard the police force as oppressors, you may be quite sure there is something wrong with the police." These noble words are to be deeply imprinted in the hearts of not only policemen but also all the officials and it is the first duty of the popular Governments to accomplish it both by their actions and by their utterances. In short, it is the duty of the policemen to give up his "I - am - the - boss"-attitude and to take up "I - am - the - servant"-attitude and then the exemplary London policeman will cease to be a rare commodity of foreign manufacture.

Another interesting observation with regard to the police was made by Mr. A. F. A. Hamid, Inspector-General of Police, Bihar. Both the name of the official and the name of the Province, in the present context of the communal situation in the country, invests the observations with extraordinary significance. Mr. Hamid said that the police must convince the Prime Minister that "the police have no religion except that of serving the people." These liberal and democratic views constitute an exemplary code of conduct for the police and other officials and in realising it in the actual administrative field lies not only the success of our popular Governments but also the preparation for our freedom which is promised to us before June 1948.

A GREAT ARTIST

by BINOD

FROM the long and confusing array of counterfeit leaders in every sphere of art, there emerges, once in a blue moon, a truly great poet, a truly great singer, a truly great actor—a truly great artist who by the sheer genuineness of his worth exposes the spurious quality of the others' fame. I consider Nagiah such an artist.

Nagiah in *Swargaseema* soars around the tree-tops. Even to indiscriminate cinema-goers with their sense of appreciation dulled by their familiarity with the film world, Nagiah in this picture offers a new thrill, a fresh experience, an untried sensation. His work, in the latter half of the picture especially, is of the highest order, of the very highest order: we are angry with him for his baseness towards his wife; we are glad, but a little sorry too, when poetic justice overtakes him; we are truly sad, and our hearts go out to him—oh, how our hearts go out to him—when, jilted, dejected, repenting, he starts on his slow and sad and weary way to his wife, his true, true love.

Swargaseema's story is slight, simple and ordinary; but the frequent human touches that play on our heart-strings; that tug at our heart-strings so—and all but tear them asunder—convert it from a common "triangle" tale into a thing of power and beauty, and convey a meaning which the most cynical among us can ignore only at his peril. *Swargaseema* is drama, but a drama that is life. *Swargaseema* is a story, but a story that happens. *Swargaseema* is fiction, but fiction that is true.

But, with all this, *Swargaseema* might have been nothing without the supreme skill that has gone into its direction and the glorious portrayal of their respective roles by the leading members of the cast. The heroine is a woman of abundant charm, that most ladylike of virtues. She is a worthy heroine. Doomed to death, though fated not

to die, she throws her arms around the tragedy, as Saint Francis embraced the leper. She sees the venomous thing—betrayal by her husband—creeping and crawling around; she is powerless to stop it; and when the scoundrel of a husband has deserted her, this unusually patient, unusually humble, unusually dutiful woman is still, like the lotus,

*Exhaling, weeping, trembling
With ever-yearning love.*

The "other woman" too, the vamp who pours ruin upon the household of our heroine, whose heart is like a turnstile admitting a new love as the old one exits, does her piece effectively. Her piercing melodies would lend a deaf man an ear; her dance concoctions would make a blind man see.

But the greatest of them all is Nagiah. This actor, this great actor, wrests the picture from all else. How he lays bare the tortured spirit of man, which, from age to age, has been torn by conflicting impulses and attachments. Even when he does not speak, he is saying something, expressing something. His eyes, his mouth, a turn of the muscle, a change of the countenance, all carry the story forward. Some of the best parts of the film are the intervals of wordless acting when a look, a touch, a sigh, a movement tells more than millions of the choicest words could ever tell. At these times indeed words are useless. Seldom if ever have I seen human emotions so deeply imprinted on human features. Seldom if ever has a player so penetrated to the heart of things; seldom has my mental camera photographed anything on my brain so clearly.

Stand up and cheer! Nagiah's acting in the second half of *Swargaseema* is not mere personation: it's inspiration. Stand up and cheer to this great actor, this very great actor—to this genius who though not a great big genius, maybe, is anyway a little one who will grow up.

THE FUTURE OF 'ENGLISH' IN INDIA

by K. H. DARJA, M.A., B.L.

(Andhra University)

ENGLISH has been with us for over two hundred years. The entire machinery of the Government is accustomed to employ English. National and personal laws and their administration are in English. Most of the leading journals are in English. Academic institutions are imparting knowledge of various kinds in English. Apart from what ought to be or what ought not be, these are facts to be reckoned with and faced. If Hindusthani is to take the place of English, it must first be aware of the responsibility it has to shoulder. Unless and until Hindusthani satisfies both the Government and the people that it can cope with the task, it is wise to manage with what we have on hand.

Further, our access to the knowledge of modern sciences and discoveries is strictly limited by our knowledge of English. It is an arduous task to translate effectively all books or journals on Science. Minor attempts have been made in schools which border on the ludicrous. Before we can talk or write, we must be able to *think* in our own language and we must have our own *words* to describe the ideas we want to deal with. Just now, especially in the higher spheres of intellectual activity, we do not at all *think* in our languages—in fact we do not think in any other language except English. No doubt, it may be a pitiable sign of degradation. Still, it is a fact.

As regards the study of English literature in this country, though its introduction was originally due to foreign rule, it deserves to outlive the departure of the British. Nothing is more fallacious than to imagine that one who loves English literature loves England and does not love India; or that, in future, the study of English literature would be a drag on the national move-

ment. On the other hand, the substance of patriotic poetry—of England or of any other country—is love for the motherland and it is beneficially active wherever it is read. Bertrand Russell once remarked that *Hamlet* might well be regarded as a symbol of the Indian situation. That India's Mahatma is a living example of Shelley's Prometheus is not an exaggeration.

All great literature is universal. Its substance is "fundamental human emotions" which are everywhere and at all times the same. Into the realm of knowledge, let not politics tread.

England has been rolling in prosperity during the last five centuries or more. No wonder she has a most fascinating literature. In no literature is there such a close affinity between the life that is actually lived and literature, as there is in English. Very few of the poets of England are preoccupied with Christianity. This feature is in striking contrast with Indian literature where religion largely colours creative activity and we rarely find life looked at by man as man.

In the literary history of India, there has been a huge gap for three centuries. As India feels free, literature will again flourish. But one is tempted to suggest that this gap may profitably be filled up with English literature of the corresponding three or four centuries the literature of a country which was most advanced, prosperous, free and democratic. It will do great good to the Indian to read it.

The continuance of the study of English literature in India is eminently desirable and should not suffer any political restrictions.

A few suggestions may not be out of place here.

(1) In *primary* education, the English language may be completely

given up. The provincial tongue and Hindusthani should be the only two languages taught in the primary stage.

(2) In the *secondary* stage, importance may be given to Hindusthani and the provincial tongue. But the rudiments of English, too, may be taught, especially to those who may wish to take on to higher studies.

(3) Higher studies may be in English—especially in subjects which are technical and scientific or deal largely with principles of Western origin such as economics or politics or commerce. In other subjects, such as history, which do not depend on Western principles and technical jargon, scholars may

be called upon to write books in either the provincial language or Hindusthani and one of the two languages may be the medium of instruction.

(4) Efforts may be made to find facile and adequate native synonyms for English technical words and conceptions, in all subjects. The success of these attempts determines the progress of Hindusthani as an adequate national medium. It must ultimately be capable of serving all the needs that English language has so far served.

If the English language took over one thousand years to be what it is to-day, it is indeed very creditable if Hindusthani can rise to its level within a hundred years.

THE 2,000-RUPEE BRIDEGROOM

by "VAIDEHI"

THERE he is, just around the corner, all spick and span and neatly labelled. Only two thousand to pay, not a pie more, and you can pick and choose your young man. The price has been fixed, so no bickering and badgering and no resorting to middlemen.

This product of the new and popular government, offered for the relief of that oppressed class the parents of daughters, will, we are told, soon be upon the market for sale.

Prohibition has been introduced, temple-entry, hotel-entry, etc., of Harijans has been achieved, the cloth and food problems have been satisfactorily solved, and the price of the Hindu bridegroom has been fixed. All is well with the world and the authorities can lean back and relax.

A very pretty picture indeed, if only there were not such a thing as the black-market. Surely the Government must have considered, when contemplating the introduction of the Dowry-Restriction Bill, what immense possibilities for profiteering it may offer to the middleman, the marriage-broker, and even

the contracting parties themselves. The instinct to do the forbidden thing has been ingrained in the nature of man right from the beginning of creation, and every fresh control and prohibitory order issued by a well-meaning Government brings in its wake new and different underground methods for the defying of it. The Dowry Restriction Bill, when it comes into force, will be no exception. Instead of achieving that end for which it is intended, it will only serve to make the evil greater, if evil it must be called.

The custom of dowry-giving is not an innovation of today or yesterday. It is as ancient, and I will even make bold to say as indispensable as the tying of the *Thali* and the performing of the accompanying rites during a marriage ceremony, and was no doubt established as a sort of compensation for the girl who had no right to a share of her father's property. A glance into our epics and puranas will show that even the very gods and goddesses have not been exempted from the practice. We read in the Ramayana that King Janaka when bestowing the hand of Sita

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on Rama, gave along with her, "profuse gold and silver, pearls and rubies, heaps of silken clothes, thousands of cows, well-adorned elephants and horses, numerous chariots" and so on. There is an amusing story about the goddess Alamelumanga and the Lord of the Seven Hills. Tradition has it that Alamelumanga after her marriage with the Lord Venkateshwara arrived with a huge and wonderful dowry "to set up house" with her lord, the said dowry containing everything for the purpose, down to the tiniest mustard. When she had climbed the better part of the hill she was met by her lord, who, checking up her presents found that she had forgotten one single item. And that was the *Karu-veppilai* or curry-leaf used in the Indian kitchen for flavouring purposes. So poor Alamelumanga was sent all the way down to fetch the missing curry-leaf. The goddess, incensed at the indignity offered to her, did not climb up the hill again, but stayed back at its foot. And there she is still.

That dowry-giving is not a custom confined to India alone, but is prevalent in almost every country in the world, in various forms and under various names, is wellknown. This gift given by a loving parent or guardian is intended as a standby for the girl or as a means of giving a start in life for the young couple. In most of the cases the money received by the bridegroom's people goes back to the girl in the shape of jewels and clothes. If in usage the sanctity of the idea is sometimes violated, for instance by the bridegroom's father using the dowry-money for his own selfish needs, or by his raising the price of his son for snobbish reasons of

prestige or for purposes of competition, it is not the institution that is to blame but the individual. Better that a law is introduced to ensure the proper dispensation of the dowry than one to abolish or restrict the giving of it.

Perhaps, in course of time, when every Hindu woman has obtained the right to inherit, along with her brothers, an equal share in the ancestral property, the dowry system will wear out by itself. Until then, any act or law introduced for its restriction or abolition will be wholly useless and will only serve to pave the way for another huge black-market racketeering. Ultimately it will be the poor man who will suffer the most.

If in the meanwhile the Government feel that they must do something about this dowry business, then why not have it the other way round, for a change? The average modern Hindu girl is, judged by her own merits, in every way equal to the young man who comes forward to marry her. Unlike her illiterate grand-mother or great-grand-mother before her, who were married off at tender ages and who were wholly dependent on their menfolk all their lives, she arrives at the altar of Hymen at a more mature age, well-educated and equipped to face life. She is even capable of settling out to earn her contribution towards the upkeep of her future home and family. All these qualifications of hers must have cost her parents a pretty tidy sum of money, as tidy a sum, if not more, as is spent upon a son. So I am sure there is nothing unreasonable in my suggesting that we have a reversal of the dowry-system for a while and see how it works.

The growth of children is not regular through the year. Spring growth in height is on the average, almost twice that of the fall. The spring gain in height is made without weight gain, however, while in the fall, when there is but little increase in stature children fatten more.—CLARENCE A. MILLS, *Living With the Weather* (University of Cincinnati).



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Madras Congress Affairs

The origin of the 'No-confidence' motion against the leadership of Sri Prakasam lies not in incompetency or non-implementation of the Congress programme. It is to his credit that he put into effect the several policies of the Congress and other Provinces followed when he led. It is for this that he is paying dearly now. We have to remind our legislators that the internal strife in the Legislature Party in this Province has grown intolerable and has caused great harm to the Congress organisation.

Sri Kaleswara Rao, in his rejoinder to Professor Ranga, disclaimed allegiance to the Provincial Congress Committee but expressed loyalty to the All-India Parliamentary Sub-Committee, where he thinks he can get support. It is not the All-India Parliamentary Sub-Committee that he is representing in the Legislature but his constituency. He is responsible to it and when the constituency questions his action he should resign and be ready to seek re-election. Sri N. S. Varadachariar blamed the Premier for having waited all these days without investigating the existence of groups in the Party. He cannot deny the existence of groups in the Party but the Premier is rightly blamed for his inaction and reliance on the legislators' good-sense and discipline. When the Cabinet is thus facing an opposition in the Party which makes difficult the smooth running of the Government, throwing to the winds all the rules of party organisation, what else can it be due to, if not POWER-POLITICS?

K. ANANTACHARI, B.Sc.

Tirupati.

C. R. Group's Volte Face

Your attitude towards the C. R. group and its leaders with reference to

the ministerial crisis belies the avowed impartiality and independence of your weekly and is, to say the least, most unsatisfactory. Only a month ago you were holding them up to public esteem for not joining hands with the Nadar-Reddi combination in their alleged unholy plot to dislodge the Prakasam Ministry. But now though it is by their sudden *volte face*, and in your own estimate quite indefensible *volte face* too, that the no-confidence move, hitherto merely in the air, becomes a reality, strictly speaking you have not a word of reproach to offer against this change of tactics. Such mild comment as you deferentially venture is so liberally diluted with their praise that perhaps it is not too much to say that they are benignly shielded by you, one who is so critical of poor Nadar and Reddi. To an impartial outsider, the past supposed neutrality as well as the present partisanship or plot-mindedness, if you like, of the C. R. group must seem rather unpraiseworthy. For, to sulk in separateness over the rejection of their pet leader in the face of a duly elected new leader to the degree of refusing co-operation in shouldering responsibility for the good government of the province is in breach alike of their duty to the public that elected them and party discipline that enjoins wholehearted support to the leader whoever he might be. If they thought, as you seem to suggest they did, that the rejection of C. R. by the brute majority of the Congress Legislature Party is one of the major misfortunes of modern India and of Madras in particular and that his exit from the scene renders their presence futile as well as pointless, the proper course for them was to register their protest and compel the attention of the province to the graveness of the hour by resigning their seats. Instead they elected to stay without however realising that the people, the party and

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the leader have a legitimate expectation over their unstinted co-operation within and outside the Cabinet. Their present partisanship with the Nadar—Reddi—Kala combine, especially after their drift to the very verge of making an entry into the existing Cabinet, comes in very bad grace. A couple of ministerships, surely, cannot be the fulfilment of their politics, but was alliance with Nadar the goal of their past endeavour? One cannot appreciate either the saint in the person of Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyer for politically the refusal of his group to co-operate with the Premier in contravention of party rules and all his raging and taring campaign against the Ministry's policy and his frantic antics on the floor of the Assembly embittered the feelings of the Muslim opposition and made more difficult the already hopeless task of the Premier. On top of all this, you seem to acquiesce in the charge of incompetency levelled against the Ministry without so much as putting the simple question whether any Ministry could have done better under such circumstances and whether the situation, such as it is, was not the making of these disloyal groups and their disgruntled leaders who never really allowed the Ministry to settle down to their task. It cannot be that these considerations escaped your attention. Pray, why this infirmity in a weekly otherwise noted for its courage and character and named *Swatantra*?

T. S. R. NARASIMHAM.

Madras.

Legislators should set Matters Right

I raise my feeble voice in the hope that it is yet possible for a closing up of the ranks in the Congress Legislature Party, evolving a united front and preventing the present Ministerial crisis from developing into a major catastrophe in our Province.

The cult of hatred that is being preached from the platform and in the Press, does little credit to their authors, and is quite unbecoming the esteemed leaders whom we have learnt to respect and love, for their ways of life as well as their spirit of self-sacrifice. They have only resulted in kindling emotions and confusing issues. The other day a 10,000 audience at Bezwada, went away with the impression after hearing Premier Prakasam that he was being made the victim of a clique of unscrupulous self-seekers. Under-statement has always

triumphed over exaggeration and has better effect on human hearts. Equally telling is the effect of the statements made by the anti-Ministerialist party. They have become martyrs in the eyes of the High Command. The President of the Congress has deputed the General Secretary, Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, to Madras. Objectively viewed, the issue is quite simple and not very difficult of solution. I find from the report of Sri Kamaraj Nadar's address at Kumbakonam that he had clinched the issue. I only wished that he had not said some things which he did. It is almost a tag to say that all Governments are there to see that the lot of the common man is improved. None of our leaders lags behind any other in his love of the common man and the down-trodden. There appears no difference in the objective of our leaders. In fact they are all pledged and wedded to it. The only difference is with regard to the measures of implementation thereof. If all allegations, affiliations and alignments are declared out of court and forgotten, the question resolves itself to be very simple and should be easy of solution. The members of the Congress Legislature Party are the pick and chosen minds amongst us. They have proved themselves free of all selfishness by their long record of sacrifice. Is it too much to expect them to rise above all fissiparous tendencies and help to achieve the one objective for which they are pledged and for which they strove hard for over a whole generation. Something is out of joint somewhere. I appeal to our leaders to set it right.

SURI KRISHNAMURTHI B.A., B.L.
Bezwada.

Communal Parties

It is accepted by all sane politicians that communalism should be eschewed from politics. But as a matter of fact communal parties not only play their invidious role in politics but they are also recognised by the British Government helplessly and even by the Indian National Congress. As such, it is futile to dismiss communal parties in politics altogether and that too at this eleventh hour of getting Swaraj. Having allowed things to go on like this for long, it is equally futile to think of a homogeneous Cabinet at the Centre. If the country is not to be torn asunder by feuds and factions the western idea of forming a majority Cabinet or a Coalition Cabinet at the Centre should be dismissed outright. So far as the Union Cen-

tre is concerned, irrespective of the numerical strength of the individual parties, only parity of representation will last long. For instance, a Central Cabinet of two Hindus, two Muslims, and two Sikhs with a President elected among them will be more stable and harmonious than the present Interim Government of the western type. The present Constituent Assembly should be converted into a Central Assembly from where the Central Cabinet on the suggested lines should be evolved, which in its turn should be responsible and answerable to the Assembly.

T. S. PARAMASIVAM.

Woriyur.

**"Prakasam Committee
Unconstitutional"**

The Leader of the Congress Legislature Party has appointed a committee consisting of the Presidents of the Andhra, Tamil and Kerala Provincial Congress Committees and the Secretary of the South Kanara District Congress Committee with T. Viswanatham as Secretary and himself as Chairman to go into the question of "groups" in the Congress Legislature Party. The various Congress committees owe nothing to the Leader and they are independent organisations working under the direction and control of the All India Congress Committee. It would have been perfectly within the competence and jurisdiction of the Leader if he had constituted a committee of named individuals like Kamaraj, Ranga and Kelappan, or better still, if he had appointed a sub-committee from among the members of the Congress Legislature Party. Even if the Leader had asked the various Provincial Congress Committees to interest themselves, they could not have done so, for the reason that they had delegated their power in the sphere to the Parliamentary Board. The latter body would have been properly requisitioned to help the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party in this matter. In the circumstances the Committee would do well not to proceed with their task but to dissolve, reconstituting themselves into a new committee of named individuals and then begin their labours.

R. NATESAN

Right Lead For Unity

"It is the testing time for the Congress" said Azad in the open session of the Congress at Meerut. "It is a question of life and death for the Congress. Search well your hearts and minds and see whether you also have not been contaminated by this epidemic of communalism. If that is so, then it is the end of the Congress.....!" "People accuse the League for creating the present situation," said Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Frontier leader. "But why did they succeed? It is because we are blind to certain problems. Hindus and Muslims cannot ignore each other. An advanced community must help the backward communities!"

If the appeals of Azad and Gaffar Khan take the shape of action for uniting Hindus and Muslims, then the youth of India will rally round them and march on to break the shackles of slavery.

GURRAM VENKATA REDDY.

Kurnool.



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